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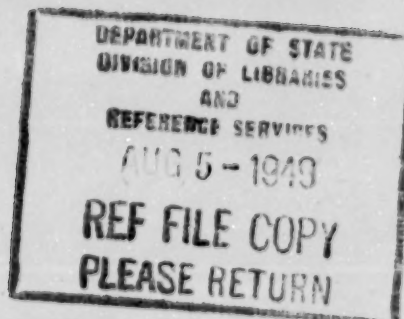
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R & A No. 2445

POPULATION DEVELOPMENT OF BULGARIA

Description

A description and analysis of
population movements in Bulgaria.



20 October 1944

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SUMMARY

1. Bulgaria's population policy has been mainly determined by agrarian overpopulation, heterogenous ethnic structure, and the unabated desire of the Bulgarian Government to recover the provinces lost in 1919 and to settle them with Bulgarian colonists.

2. A large part of the Turkish minority in Bulgaria returned to Turkey over a period of years between 1931 and 1939, first spontaneously and later under the terms of two agreements between Turkey and Bulgaria concluded in 1936 and 1937. This repatriation resulted in a population loss of some 95,000 persons for Bulgaria.

3. The Craiova Treaty of 7 September 1940 which provided for Bulgaria's recovery of Southern Dobrudja, was followed by a compulsory population exchange of Rumanians living in Southern Dobrudja for Bulgarians in Northern Dobrudja. While some 100,000 Rumanians left Bulgarian territory, there were only some 65,000 Bulgarian immigrants from Northern Dobrudja.

4. Smaller population losses were due to the departure of some 40,000 workers to Germany, the evacuation of the numerically insignificant German Volksgruppe in Bulgaria and to the persecution of Jews.

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5. The annexation by Bulgaria of parts of Greek Macedonia and Western Thrace in 1941 brought about important population shifts in these territories: large numbers of the local inhabitants were expelled or deported and over 120,000 Bulgarians installed. The military events of recent months put an end to this Bulgarian colonization.

6. The population shifts in Yugoslav Macedonia, which was annexed during this same period, were on a far smaller scale. Now that the territories are being restored to Greece and Yugoslavia respectively, a reverse shifting of population is to be anticipated.

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POPULATION DEVELOPMENT OF BULGARIAI. INTRODUCTION

Bulgaria within the boundaries of 1939 had an area of 39,815 square miles and an estimated population of 6,400,000. As a result of territorial losses after the World War, Bulgaria contained the most homogeneous block of population in the Balkans. The only important minority groups within its pre-war frontiers were the 648,000 Turks (10.2 percent of the population) and the 85,000 Gypsies (1.3 percent). All the other minorities together did not exceed 167,000 persons (2.4 percent). The principal groups represented in this number were the Jews (48,565), the Russians (25,000), the Armenians (25,000), the Rumanians (20,000), and the Kutso-Vlachs (15,000).¹ With the incorporation of Southern Dobrudja in 1940 and the annexation of Greek and Yugoslav territories in 1941, the area of Greater Bulgaria grew to 58,670 square miles² and its population to 8,642,000,³ an increase of 47.4 percent in area and 35.0 percent in population. This tremendous addition of territory and population was accompanied by a considerable shifting of persons both in the new provinces and in the "old" Bulgarian territory. In dealing with

1. R & A Report No. 985

2. The New International Yearbook, 1943, p. 86.

3. R & A Report No. 985.

this population shift the annexed Rumanian, Yugoslav, and Greek areas have, for convenience, been considered as a part of Greater Bulgaria, regardless of the character of the political and military events which in 1940 and 1941 led to the changes in the territorial status of these provinces.

These population shifts were in the main conditioned by two factors: the age-old ethnic struggle between the different ethnic groups settled in the Balkans, and the agrarian overpopulation of Bulgaria. A third element was Bulgaria's position as a satellite of the Axis.

The ethnic problem was particularly involved because the different population groups intermingled; political boundaries did not coincide with ethnic frontiers.

The problem of Bulgaria's agrarian overpopulation was a very serious one. In the 1920's, Bulgaria had the highest birth rate among all European countries (39 per 1,000 being the average for 1921-25). Consequently, and despite a high mortality rate, the natural increase was also the highest for Europe (18.2 per thousand being the average for 1921-25). Since then, there has been a sharp decrease in the number of births, to 22.2 per thousand in 1940 and while the mortality rate decreased at the same time, the natural increase in 1940 was 8.8 per thousand only.¹ This

1. Population Index, July 1943 (Published by the School of Public Affairs, Princeton University, and the Population Association of America).

decline in the birth rate will, however, substantially affect the total population of Bulgaria only in a later period; the immediate problem of agrarian overpopulation remains as serious as ever, since the classes coming of age in the 1940's are especially large.

The problem presented by this population increase has been particularly acute in view of the occupational structure of the population. Industry was undeveloped; only 10 percent of the total population drew its income from industry which thus could not provide an outlet for the excess population.¹ The country was predominantly agricultural, and had the highest density of agricultural gainfully occupied per square mile of arable land of all European countries, as indicated in the following table.²

<u>Country</u>	<u>Number of persons occupied in agriculture per square mile</u>
Bulgaria	169
Rumania	146
Poland	138
Austria	123
Germany	118
Czechoslovakia	113
Hungary	87

This situation led to excessive parcelling of the land

1. Süd-Ost Economist, 26 September 1941. See also Reithinger Anton Das Wirtschaftliche Gesicht Europas, 1936, Stuttgart-Berlin, p. 148.
2. The International Institute of Agriculture. The figures are based on official censuses, and were intended for the technical documentation of the European Conference on Rural Life (League of Nations, 1939). These data were obtained from the ILO, Montreal.

(61 percent of the farmers owned less than 12.5 acres each, 29 percent less than 2.5 acres); it also led to an ever growing surplus agricultural population. The annexation of large, new territories, where Bulgaria's surplus population could be settled after the removal of the original inhabitants, was expected to improve to a certain extent Bulgaria's economic and demographic situation.

The most important wartime population shifts were caused by the Craiova Treaty of 7 September 1940, which provided for a population exchange between Rumania and Bulgaria, and by the annexation of the Yugoslav and Greek territories in Yugoslav Macedonia, Western Thrace, and Eastern Macedonia. Of secondary importance was the sending of Bulgarian workers to Germany, and the evacuation of Sofia and other large cities, and the measures taken with respect to Jews and Gypsies.

These shifts affected the "Old Kingdom" and the newly annexed territories in the following way:

1. Old Kingdom plus Dobrudja. The Old Kingdom suffered a net loss of some 160,000 inhabitants. In exchange for 100,000 Rumanians, who under the terms of the Craiova Treaty, left Southern Dobrudja, only 66,500 Bulgarians were moved to Southern Dobrudja from Northern Dobrudja. Furthermore, 112,000 Bulgarians left the Old Kingdom for the newly annexed territories, and some 40,000 workers are estimated to have gone to Germany. On the other hand, some 25,000 Greeks were deported to the

Bulgaria proper from the newly annexed Greek provinces.

2. Annexed Yugoslav Territories. Some 120,000 Serbs and 10,000 Jews left these territories or were expelled after the Bulgarian occupation. The influx of Bulgarian settlers did not exceed a few thousand so that these areas have suffered a probable population loss of some 120,000 to 125,000 persons.

3. Annexed Greek Territories. Some 300,000 Greeks were removed from this area to the rest of Greece. In addition, some 25,000 were deported to Bulgaria proper. Some 122,000 Bulgarian settlers immigrated into these territories, so that they can be assumed to have suffered a net population loss of some 210,000 - 220,000 persons.¹

This report does not treat Bulgaria's population displacement under the usual headings (Movement of Population Into, Out of, and Within a Country) but according to a distinct territorial units which comprise "Greater Bulgaria": the Old Kingdom, Incorporated former Rumanian Southern Dobrudja, and the annexed Greek and Yugoslav territories. The movements of population connected with each of these areas present individual problems and must be treated separately.

1. In September 1944, Bulgaria broke her ties with the Axis and surrendered to the Allies. In accordance with precondition accepted by the Bulgarian Government on 12 October 1944, Bulgarian armed forces and officials were, by the end of October, withdrawn from the occupied territory of Greece and Yugoslavia. Under the terms of Article II of the Armistice signed on 28 October in Moscow between Bulgaria on the one hand and the United States, Great Britain and the USSR on the other, "the Bulgarian authorities must immediately take steps to withdraw from Greek and Yugoslav territory Bulgarians who were citizens of Bulgaria on 1 January 1941, and to repeal all legislative and administrative provisions relating to the annexation or incorporation in Bulgaria of Greek or Yugoslav territory." This provision of the armistice involves a new far-reaching shifting of population: the return of the evicted Serbs and Greeks to their former residences and the forcible re-emigration of the resettled Bulgarians. (Full text of the Bulgarian Armistice in The New York Times 30 October 1944.)

II. THE OLD KINGDOM¹

A. Bulgarian Workers in Germany

According to Dnes of 28 June 1943, there were 26,000 Bulgarian workers of both sexes in Germany.

On 9 February 1943 a new German-Bulgarian agreement to be valid until the end of 1943 was signed concerning the recruitment of workers for Germany.²

An intensive recruitment campaign was carried out during the period from July to December 1943. With this purpose in mind members of the German Labor Commission visited 52 Bulgarian towns. Some of the localities were visited twice and three times. It can be assumed that as a result of this campaign the number of Bulgarian workers in the Reich has grown to 40,000. It would seem that gardeners were in particular demand.³ The Sofia Slovo of 14 June 1943 reported that in the spring of 1943, 30 percent more gardeners left Bulgarian than during the same season of the previous year, when arrangements had been made for the transportation of 3,000 gardeners to Germany.⁴

Forestry workers also made up a large percentage of the Bulgarian workers recruited for Germany. They are repeatedly mentioned in reports concerning the activity of the German Labor Commission in the towns of Simitli, Dansko, Gradevo,

1. In this and in subsequent sections of the report, considerable use has been made of materials from the enemy-controlled European press, a source with clear potential bias. These materials have been dealt with critically and with sufficient caution so that the conclusions reached by the report are advanced with confidence in their accuracy.

2. Zora, 10 February 1943.

3. Grerzbote, 22 May 1943.

4. OSS, CID 16093.

Vratsa, Razlog, Drenina, Klisura, Yakoruda, Vrshets, Dobrinishte, Iudzhene, Bata, and Godech.¹ Factory workers were recruited mainly in Sofia, Aytos, Petrich, Kula, Dve Mogili, Razgrad, Saranyovo, Plovdiv, Isperrikh, Shumen, Kotel, Elhovo, Dobrich, Belogradchik, Pirdop, Panagyurishte, Nikopol, Knezha, Popovo, Pleven, Lom, Lovech, Haskov, Vidin, Cherven Breg, Lukovit, Trgovishte, Nova Zagora, Kyustendil, Yambol, Orehovo, Dupnitsa, Gorna Ezumasia, Sveti Vrach, Karnobat, Asenovgrad, and Bela Slatina.²

The actual number of workers in Germany from Old Bulgaria is estimated at 40,000.

According to the Deutsche Zeitung in Kroatien of 25 April 1944, the Bulgarian workers now in Germany are employed chiefly in the southern areas and in the district of Brandenburg. Workers employed elsewhere will gradually be moved to join their compatriots in these areas.

There are no reliable data on the number of workers from the Bulgarian-annexed territories. In November 1943, Turkish reports stated that the Bulgarian authorities had sent 60,000 Greeks from former Greek Macedonia and Western Thrace to Austria for work in heavy industry.³

B. Repatriation of Turks

Prior to 1878, during the 500 years of Turkish supremacy

1. Utro, 13 July 1943.
2. Zora, 12 October 1943, Utro, 13 July 1943, Slovo, 22 February 1944.
3. Greece and the War. The Bulletin of International Affairs, NL, 14 February 1944, p. 136.

in the Balkans, hundreds of thousands of Turks moved to Bulgaria. The Turkish Minister of the Interior, Sukru Kaya Bey, in 1934 estimated the number of Turks in Bulgaria at "about one million."¹ This is certainly a greatly exaggerated figure. The Census of 1926 showed 577,500 persons of Turkish ethnic nationality and 607,705 Turkish speaking inhabitants; according to the 1934 Census, there were in Bulgaria 821,290 persons of Moslem faith. These contradictory figures can be explained by the fact that there are in Bulgaria several population groups whose ethnic nationality, language, and faith do not coincide. For example there are the Orthodox, but ethnically and linguistically Turkish Gagauz Turks (some 60,000 of them live in the vicinity of Varna);² some 6,000 Moslem Tatars; and the majority of the 85,000 Bulgarian Gypsies who are Mohammedans and speak a mixture of Bulgarian and Turkish.³ The problem of the 102,351 so-called Pomaks, that is, Bulgarians who were Moslemized by force in the fourteenth to seventeenth century, is particularly complicated. Despite their rather strained relations with the local Turkish population in Bulgaria, many of them cherish strong pro-Turkish sympathies.⁴

The Turks in Bulgaria live in close settlements, mainly in the regions of Choumen, Durgaz, Stara Zagora, and in Dobrudja. Some settlements in these districts are as high as 90 percent Turkish. In 1942 the number of Bulgarian Turks was estimated

1. Ankara, 17 November 1934.

2. The Moslem World, July 1935.

3. R & A Report No. 985.

4. Chichkoff St. N. The Mohammedan Bulgarians. Historical, Geographical, and Ethnographical Aspects (In Bulgarian) Sofia 1936.

at 648,000.¹ They have not in any way become assimilated into the Bulgarian majority.

Their most advanced elements look toward Ankara.² The Bulgarian government considered this minority with its potential irredentism a serious menace to the state and was eager to eliminate it. On the other hand, the creators of the New Turkey, who needed the return of their co-nationals living in other countries in order to further the colonization of the land abandoned by the Greek expatriates, were willing to encourage a methodical return movement. Their intention was, however, to spread this movement over a period of years, not wishing to overtax Turkey's absorptive capacity, financial or otherwise, by a sudden influx of large numbers of immigrants. The Bulgarian view was quite different; one Bulgarian observer believed that for strategic reasons, the Ankara Government was interested in the maintenance of a strong Turkish minority in neighboring Bulgaria, just across the Turkish border. In case of an invasion of Bulgaria, this Turkish element was to be a fifth column in the strategically vital areas of the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles.

1. R & A Report No. 985.

2. The Moslem World, January 1937.

Up to 1934, the number of Turkish emigrants from Bulgaria was rather insignificant: 2,141 in 1931, 1,452 in 1932, 1,382 in 1933.¹ In 1934, the picture changed radically. In November of that year, the Turkish Minister of the Interior made the following cautious statement:

"During the summer months, an emigration movement manifested itself in Bulgaria and grew to the proportion of a mass emigration." In reply to remonstrances made by the Turkish Government, the Sofia Government confessed that this emigration movement was the result of "local pressure." The Sukru Kaya Bey assured the Turkish Great National Assembly that the diplomatic steps undertaken by the Turkish Ministry for Foreign Affairs had completely stopped the mass emigration.² In fact, 8,682 Turks were forced to leave Bulgaria under administrative pressure in 1934, and in 1935 the number of arrivals from Bulgaria reached a high mark of 24,968.³

This practically forced and unorganized mass migration placed the Ankara Government in an extremely difficult position. The wish of the Turkish authorities was to receive only such select contingents of immigrants as were in proportion to the number of farms, houses, and cattle prepared for their resettlement. It must also be borne in mind that most of the Turks arrived not as orderly repatriates, but as refugees, having left behind their land for which they received no

1. Schischkoff, Peter, and Wisdorf, Heinz. Die zwischenstaatliche Lenkung der Türkenwanderung. Zeitschrift für Geopolitik, September 1938, p. 762.
2. Ankara, 17 November 1934.
3. Istatistik Yilligi, 1937 - 38, X, 89.

compensation, and frequently even their movable property. The unorganized arrival of these refugees threatened to upset all the carefully planned government resettlement schemes.

The Ankara Government attempted to master the situation by concluding preliminary agreements in 1936 and 1937 with the Bulgarian Government, which provided for the repatriation of some 10,000 Turks each year. Soon afterwards, however, the Bulgarian Government, impatient to increase the rate of the emigration, on one occasion simply dispatched 1,500 Turks to Turkey as "tourists." The Ankara Government finally permitted the resettlement of these "tourists" but Sofia was required to deduct 1,500 emigrants from the contingent of 10,000 agreed upon for the following year.¹ As a matter of fact, it was only during the first year (1936) that the agreement was even partly successful. During this year not more than 11,730 Turks left Bulgaria for Turkey.² In 1937 the number of emigrants reached 13,490. The following year calculations were once again upset when 20,542 Turks were forced to move from Bulgaria into Turkey.³

Since 1939, the outbreak of the war and earthquakes in Anatolia have considerably hampered the progress of the repatriation scheme. An Istanbul dispatch to the Krakauer

1. Zeitschrift für Geopolitik, 1938, loc. cit.
2. The Bulgarian Statistical Yearbook speaks of over 14,000 Turkish emigrants in 1936.
3. Istatistik Viliigi, 1937-38, X, 89.

Zeitung, dated 7 July 1940, stated that the Turkish Government had decided not to carry out any repatriation activities in 1940. However, there are indications to the contrary. Between 1935 and 1940, 172,000 Turkish immigrants entered Turkey. The number of repatriates for the period of 1935-1938 was 140,015, leaving some 32,000 for the years 1939 and 1940. The contingent for 1939 consisted of 14,690 repatriates: 11,290 from Bulgaria and 3,400 from Rumania (Ankara, 27 July 1939), so that over 17,000 must have arrived in 1940.

In reply to a questionnaire, the Turkish Embassy in Washington stated on 21 March 1944, that it had "no up-to-date material concerning the repatriation of Turkish minorities in recent years."

If the repatriation movement of the Bulgarian Turks has been interrupted, it is not for the lack of Turks willing to migrate into the Turkish motherland. All available data indicate that many tens of thousands of Turks in Bulgaria as well as some in Rumania were anxious to leave their country of residence for the New Turkey. At the session of the Turkish Great National Assembly, representative Hakki Uzmay stated that "Bulgarian Turks would be glad to dispose of their property no matter under which conditions; thousands of families having sold all they possess have meanwhile spent all their fortune and are reduced to extreme destitution waiting for the possibility of emigration."

The Government was repeatedly subjected to the pressure

of public opinion and that of parliamentary groups to speed up the rate of immigration, and to transfer all those who were ready and waiting for repatriation.

The main obstacle was financial. Repatriation and resettlement involved tremendous expenditures, and the Kemalist Government was determined to avoid foreign loans, and to carry out the resettlement of the repatriates within the limits of Turkey's own financial strength. The Minister of Hygiene and Social Welfare in charge of all the resettlement activities in January 1938 stated before the Turkish Great National Assembly that the resettlement scheme must be conducted "in accordance with the budget possibilities of the State."¹ Turkish repatriates from Bulgaria were mainly installed in Anatolia, and the districts of Izmir, Manissa, Aydin, Diyarbakir, Nigde, and Sivas.² All indications are that their resettlement has been successful. According to the judgment of Donald Everest Webster, formerly of the social science faculty at International College in Izmir, the repatriates "have the vigor and ambition generally characteristic of migrants, so they are making a genuine contribution to the country to which they thus show their affection. While the Government is being strained to care for them, there is every reason to believe that the investment is sound. Most of the immigrants move into new villages situated in regions of fair to good fertility.

1. Ankara, 27 January 1938.

2. Zeitschrift fuer Geopolitik, 1938, loc. cit.

Since these villages are newly built and much of their farm equipment is equally new, many of the settlements are practically model villages.¹

C. Repatriation of Germans

In December 1941, 856 Germans living in "Old" Bulgaria were repatriated to the Reich.² However a considerable group of Germans still remained in Sofia. Allied air raids over the Bulgarian capital precipitated the evacuation of this German colony. "Acting on the advice of the German Minister Beckerle," the first party of German evacuees from Sofia, mainly women and children, arrived in Rumania on 17 January 1944; it was disclosed that some of the party will stay in Transylvania, others will return to Germany.³ Another party of Germans arrived in Budapest.⁴

D. Repatriation of Bulgarians from the Axis-Occupied Soviet Territories

According to the Koelnische Zeitung of 30 December 1943, there were about 200,000 Bulgarians in the Axis-occupied Crimea and the Odessa district, and 60,000 living in the region of the Sea of Azov. This claim is certainly exaggerated. Official Soviet sources speak of 111,000 Bulgarians scattered throughout the USSR.⁵ Most of them came to Russia during the period 1769-1862 and settled in the

1. Webster, Donald Everest. The Turkey of Ataturk. The American Academy of Political and Social Science, Philadelphia 1939, p. 274.

2. Die Deutsche Volkswirtschaft, 1943, No. 10, p. 344.

3. MTI, 18 January 1944.

4. Turkish Home Service, 19 January 1944.

5. Malaya Sovetskaya Encyclopedia, Vol. I, p. 780.

governments of Cherson, Chernigov, and Tauria.¹ Curentul of 20 August 1943 reported that a Bulgarian delegation from the Rumanian-held Southern Ukraine had arrived in Bucharest for the purpose of arranging for the repatriation of Bulgarians. The Sofia newspaper Veche in December 1943 stressed the fact that the fate of these Bulgarian groups abroad was of great interest to Bulgaria. It pointed out that they were in need of help from the mother country and that their importance had increased since Bulgarian unity has been realized.²

The first group of Bulgarian repatriates from the Ukraine numbering 152 persons (61 families) arrived at the Rumanian-Bulgarian frontier station, Ruse, in November 1943.³ The second group of 150 persons including doctors, lawyers, and traders arrived on 4 December; a larger transfer of 300 Bulgarians was also expected. The first contingent of repatriates covered most of the journey in horse-drawn vehicles; later they were given special trains.⁴ The ultimate destination of the repatriated in Bulgaria had not yet been fixed and they were forced to remain in Ruse temporarily. The Bulgarian Cabinet allocated 400,000 levas for their care.⁵

1. Gheneft, Christo G. Die Bulgarischen Minderheiten unter fremder Herrschaft. Berlin 1936, p. 101.
2. Transcontinent Press, 28 December 1943.
3. Zora, 7 November 1943.
4. MTI, 15 December 1943; Transcontinent Press, 17 December 1943.
5. Transcontinent Press, 17 December 1943.

At the end of January 1944, the German Transcontinent Press reported from Sofia that the total Bulgarian population (about 60,000) domiciled in the region of the Sea of Azov, had withdrawn with the German troops.¹ As a matter of fact, between 29 February and 4 April only smaller groups, numbering 1,609 men, women, and children, arrived in Ruse and Ismail, partly from the Sea of Azov region and partly from Taurien region and the Crimean Peninsula.² Since the beginning of the repatriation some 2,000 Bulgarians have returned from Soviet Russia. The Bulgarian Government was planning to settle this new group of repatriates in Dobrudja and in the incorporated former Greek and Yugoslav provinces.³

E. Compulsory Evacuation of the Sofia Jews

According to the Bulgarian authorities there were 60,000 Jews in Greater Bulgaria, 48,000 of this number lived in the old frontiers and 12,000 in the newly acquired territories.⁴

The project to transfer all Bulgarian Jews from the cities and villages of old Bulgaria to the newly annexed Greek province of Western Thracia was placed under consideration as early as 1942. This project never materialized. As a matter of fact (see p. 44,46,47) the Jews in the annexed Greek areas of Western Thrace and Eastern Macedonia were among the first to be deported from Greater Bulgaria to German-occupied Poland.

1. Transcontinent Press, 31 January 1944.
2. DNE, 3 March 1944; MTI, 8 March 1944; Transcontinent Press, 21 March and 4 April 1944.
3. Deutsche Zeitung in Kroatien, 4 March 1944.
4. Novo Vreme, 25 August 1943.

This first wide-scale deportation caused important repercussions in Bulgaria proper. The German Transocean Agency on 27 March 1943, reported that the bill referring to Bulgarian-held Greek Eastern Macedonia and Western Thrace, which had been submitted to the Sobranje, had provoked a violent debate on the status of the Jews: members of the opposition had protested against the recent deportation of more than 10,000 Jews to the Reich and to Poland for forced labor. The second Vice-President of the Sobranje, Peshev, joined in these protests. Forty deputies sympathetic to the government then introduced a motion of lack of confidence in Peshev on account of his political views, and the motion was carried. Peshev immediately resigned.¹ However, of the 180 deputies, only 123 had voted in favor of the government.

The opposition in the Sobranje to the deportation of the Jews from newly annexed Greek territories apparently impressed government circles and for the moment forestalled the imminent deportation of Jews from old Bulgaria. In the course of a debate in the Sobranje the government announced its decision not to deport the 45,000 Jews possessing Bulgarian citizenship.²

Even this, however, proved to be only a short-lived tactical move. As early as 12 April, the Swedish press published an interview with Gabrowski, the Bulgarian Minister of

1. Transocean, 26-27 March 1943.

2. Jewish Telegraphic Agency, 30 March 1943.

the Interior, according to which all Jewish communities in Bulgaria had been asked to prepare for evacuation from the country. The Minister stated further that their destination had not yet been decided, but that all of them would have to leave Bulgaria. Half-Jews were to be treated as Jews, with the exception of holders of medals awarded for bravery.¹ The Jewish community in Sofia still numbered 25,863 in February 1943.² Governmental efforts to remove Jews from the capital had started as early as the autumn of 1942. Between September 1942 and March 1943, 669 Jewish families, numbering 1,929 persons, were removed to the countryside. The some 400 vacated dwellings were assigned to Bulgarian officials.³ The Philoff government was dissatisfied by these results. On 25 May the Berlin radio announced that all of the 26,000 Jews living in Sofia had three days in which to leave the city "voluntarily"; otherwise they would be deported from the country. There were rumors that King Boris had ordered the suspension of the deportations.⁴ The fact was, however, that only expulsions from Bulgarian territory were stopped. Within the country, especially from Sofia to the provinces, large-scale deportations were soon undertaken. The reaction caused by this order was violent both in Jewish and in Bulgarian circles. When the first group of 4,000 Jews was to be shipped off from Sofia, on 26 May, the crowds organized protest manifestations,

1. J.T.A., 13 April 1943.

2. J.T.A., 26 February 1943.

3. Grenzbote (Bratislava), 30 March 1943.

4. Jewish Journal, 30 April 1943.

and disturbances were such that only 2,000 Jews were actually evacuated on that day.

However, evacuation was resumed on the following day. The Bulgarian Government reiterated its determination to make the capital judenrein within the next few days. Two trains carrying Jewish deportees left Sofia the same day. On 28 May, the Minister of the Interior told Sofia publishers and editors that the evacuation of the Jews from Sofia was proceeding normally and that it would be completed on the appointed date. By the evening of 31 May, 6,000 Jews had been removed.¹ By 20 June 19,339 of the 25,132 Sofia Jews had already been evacuated. Of some 5,000 who were at that time still in Sofia, approximately 3,000 have been mobilized for labor camps or factories, according to DNB reports. Half the remaining 2,000 were Jews and Jewesses married to "Aryans" who could not be evacuated under the terms of the deportation decree. Foreign Jews in Sofia had been granted a short period of grace, to arrange to leave the country; otherwise they were to be sent to the provinces.² The last remaining Jews in Sofia were ordered to leave by the end of December 1943. They were warned that all those who remained in the capital without special permits from the Commissariat for Jewish Affairs would be compulsorily transferred to the countryside.³

Bulgarian authorities gave their assurance that evacuated Jews who were Bulgarian citizens would not be deported

1. Bukarester Tageblatt, 2 June 1943.
2. Völkischer Beobachter, 20 June 1943.
3. DNB, 14 December 1943.

to Poland nor delivered up to the German authorities as had been the 12,000 Jews previously evacuated from Macedonia and Thrace; only those who would not go voluntarily would be sent to Poland. The Sofia Jews were sent to thirteen Bulgarian provincial towns,¹ mainly in the district of Karnobat, thirty miles from the Black Sea; many of them were located in the towns of Vidin, Karnobat, and Pleven, where they were lodged in evacuated private dwellings.² About 2,000 Jews from Sofia were sent to Lom;³ 4,000 were sent to Ruse in May and June 1943.⁴ Some 3,000 Sofia Jews are in Vratsa.⁵ They were not allowed to leave these towns and were prohibited from engaging in any trade, except handicrafts, without special license.

In Sofia a special staff of Bulgarian officials was assigned to compile lists of all the property left behind by the Jews deported from the city. The Jews were forced to surrender cash, merchandise, and the keys of their homes to official liquidators. In cases where Jews owned enterprises in partnership with non-Jews, they were forced to sign over

1. DNB, 20 June 1943.

2. Social Demokraten (Stockholm). 28 May and 1 June 1943.

3. CID 70599.

4. CID 67866.

5. CID 59462.

their shares to their non-Jewish partners.¹ The government set up a commission to liquidate valuables and jewelry deposited by Jews in the Bulgarian banks.² A special decree was issued which provided that all able-bodied Bulgarian Jews be transported to workers camps.³

Bulgarian Jews have escaped deportation from the country and have been spared physical extermination. This relatively mild treatment may to a certain extent be explained by the fact that there was no substantial economic competition between the Jews and the Bulgarian population. Bulgarian Jewry played a very modest part in both the cultural and economic life of the country. According to 1926 statistics, although Jews comprised 0.85 percent of the total population, they represented only 0.05 percent of the gainfully employed. The greatest number (8,326) were occupied in commerce, which had attracted only small sections of the Bulgarian population, and in the various handicrafts and industries (5,280) in which Jewish participation was not outstanding. A comparatively few were engaged in the liberal professions (772) and in transportation (330); 174 were employed as domestic help. Only a handful were in the civil service.⁴ A Jewish minority with such an economic structure could hardly be considered a menace, and the actual masters of Bulgaria contented themselves with

1. J.T.A., 28 May 1943.

2. Nya Dagligt Allehanda, 30 May 1943.

3. Ostdeutscher Beobachter, 26 May 1943.

4. Hitler's Ten - Year War on the Jews. Published by the Institute of Jewish Affairs. New York 1943. Chapter on Bulgaria by Joseph B. Schechtman, p. 113.

eliminating it from Sofia, but abstained from removing the Jews from the country.

At the beginning of 1943 an attempt was made by the British Government to arrange for the emigration of part of Bulgarian Jewry. The first step was to arrange for the transfer of children to Palestine. On 3 February Captain Oliver Stanley, British Colonial Secretary, announced in the House of Commons that the Bulgarian government had agreed to permit 4,000 Jewish children and 500 adults to emigrate to Palestine, as a result of successful negotiations by the British government which had been represented by a neutral nation. On 25 February it was officially reported that steps had already been taken to select those Jewish children who were to leave Bulgaria under the terms of the British-Bulgarian agreement. But at the beginning of March the Bulgarian authorities issued a communique stating that "technical details have arisen which preclude the possibility of realizing the plan for the emigration of 4,500 Jewish children and adults to Palestine." It was established that the ships assigned by the Bulgarian authorities for the transportation of the prospective emigrants were unseaworthy, and the Red Cross, which was to have supervised the transportation, refused to assume any responsibility for passengers carried on these vessels. According to Captain Stanley in a statement made in the House of Commons on 19 March, the British Government "has not given up hope of overcoming the practical difficulties which stand in the way." The plan, however, has not materialized to date.

On 9 June 1943 Captain Stanley announced that, although transportation was still an obstacle, the primary difficulty was the refusal of the Bulgarian government to carry out the arrangements made some months ago.¹

Bulgaria's policy toward the emigration of Jews has been inconsistent. In March 1943 the government issued special instructions to all local authorities that no difficulties were to be placed in the way of Jews desiring to leave the country.² But a few weeks later it was announced that every Jew wishing to emigrate must obtain a special permit from the Ministry of Finance. Such a permit could only be obtained after an examination of the applicant's finances had been completed and it had been determined that all his taxes had been paid.³ And on 28 May, the Bulgarian Minister of the Interior Gabrowski declared in a press interview, that every Jew was permitted to leave Bulgaria, but -- he added -- neither for Turkey nor Palestine.⁴

F. Segregation of the Gypsies

The 85,000 Gypsies of Bulgaria are mostly of Moslem faith and speak a mixture of Bulgarian and Turkish.⁵ In Bulgaria, as elsewhere in Nazi-dominated Europe, they have been treated as an element which must be eradicated. Particular attention was given to their segregation. The most

1. J.T.A., 4-26 February, 8-21 March, and 10 June 1943.
2. Transocean, 3 March 1943.
3. J.T.A., 19 March 1943.
4. DNB, 28 May 1943.
5. R.C.A. Report No. 585.

drastic measures were taken to prevent the Gypsies from continuing their nomadic way of life, so that they could be more easily seized by the authorities and utilized for compulsory labor or placed in internment or concentration camps.

As early as May 1942 a decree was issued which provided for the employment of Gypsies for compulsory labor, mainly in public works.¹ Apparently this decree was not applied with the necessary stringency, for a year later it was announced that "all Gypsies between 18 and 50 years of age found idle will be mobilized for harvest."² The Bulgarian authorities, however, wanted several months to carry out this measure. In August the Sofia papers Dnes and Dnevnik reported that the police had searched the capital and all the larger Bulgarian towns to find idlers. Restaurants, coffee-houses, sweetshops, and taverns were raided. All Gypsies unable to prove employment of one kind or another, were deported out of the city to do compulsory harvesting or work on roads, railways, and other public utilities.³ Dnes of 14 August 1943 stated that thousands of Gypsies had already been sent out of Sofia alone. Under the pretext that Gypsies were spreading infectious diseases, especially spotted typhus, the Bulgarian Ministry of the Interior on 25 August ordered that district and regional authorities restrict the movement of Gypsies out of

1. Aftonbladet, 19 May 1942.

2. Kis Ulag, 29 May 1943.

3. Dnes, 13-14 August 1943; Dnevnik, 26 July 1943.

twelve regions. Included among them was the Sofia area, where the most numerous Gypsy colony was concentrated (in 1934, there were in Sofia alone, 2,800 Gypsies, comprising about 1.4 percent of the population).¹

G. Evacuation of the Cities

The recent tremendous population increase in all the southeastern European countries led in Bulgaria, as it did elsewhere, to a considerable rural exodus. The population of the Bulgarian urban centers and in particular of Sofia increased in the period between the two world wars at a rate which exceeded by far that of Middle and Western European cities.² The population of Greater Sofia, which in 1939 numbered 405,727, grew to 500,000 in 1943.³

This trend has continued since the outbreak of the war. In December 1943 the Bulgarian Minister of Agriculture stated that "the flight from the country to the towns has resulted in an almost catastrophic situation."⁴

The congested Bulgarian capital was severely shaken by the first Allied air raids in November 1943. As early as 18 November, Transocean reported that Sofia was being evacuated. After 26 November the pace of evacuation was greatly accelerated.⁵

1. Dnes, 16 August 1943; Vecher, 25 August 1943; Transocean, 19 July 1943.
2. Reitinger, Anton. Das Wirtschaftliche Gesicht Europas. Stuttgart and Berlin, 1936. p. 147.
3. R & A Report No. 985.
4. Svenska Dagbladet, 12 December 1943.
5. MTI (Hungarian Press Service), 26 November 1943.

The Government appealed to the people to leave Sofia unless their work forced them to remain in the capital.¹ By the end of November, some 25,000 persons had been evacuated.² On 12 January 1944, the German-controlled Norwegian Home Service reported that 150,000 of 450,000 Sofia's inhabitants had already left the city. Until the middle of January, the evacuation, though of considerable proportions, was of a voluntary nature. Evacuees were permitted by the government to use the railways free of charge.³

On 15 January, the German Radio announced that the Bulgarian government had ordered the immediate total evacuation of Sofia's remaining 300,000 citizens as a result of the continuous Allied bombings of the capital.⁴ Free transportation by the state railways was cancelled on 25 January.⁵ On 27 January Svenska Dagbladet reported that "90 percent of Sofia's inhabitants have now been evacuated." This is certainly an exaggeration. According to well informed quarters, there were 100,000 people still in Sofia in the middle of February.⁶

1. Hungarian Home Service, 28 November 1943.
2. Svenska Dagbladet, 30 November 1943.
3. Stockholms Tidningen, 12 January 1944.
4. Christian Science Monitor, 15 January 1944.
5. Transkontinent Press, 26 January 1944.
6. MTI, 18 February 1944.

A census has been ordered to determine the number of inhabitants who remained after the evacuation.¹

Sofia was not the only Bulgarian town to be evacuated. As early as 18 November 1943, Slovo foretold the "evacuation of larger towns, especially of women, children, and old people." On 6 January 1944, people were strictly forbidden to settle in nine villages within a radius of 20 km. of Sofia.² The first important Bulgarian provincial town to be evacuated was the Black Sea port of Varna³ (80,000 inhabitants in 1943). The evacuation of towns of Pleven (35,000 inhabitants in 1943), Vidin (18,599 in 1934), Ruse (population in 1943, 55,000) and Burgaz (in 1943, 53,000 inhabitants) started shortly afterwards and was reported completed on 28 January.⁴ In February the Government ordered the evacuation of the towns of Sliven (33,000 inhabitants in 1943) and Plovdiv (135,000 inhabitants in 1943), as well as of the entire railway junction between Varna and Rucheff.⁵

The seven cities mentioned above together contain some 891,000 persons, representing about a half of Bulgaria's urban population. It may be estimated that some two-thirds to three-fourths of this number (600,000 to 675,000) were actually evacuated.

The quite unusually high percentage of the evacuated urban population can be explained in part by the fact that

1. Transocean, 18 February 1944.
2. Zora, 6 January 1944.
3. Transocean, 25 January 1944.
4. MTI, 28 January 1944.
5. Hungarian Home Service, 7 February 1944; Gazette de Lausanne, 8 February 1944; MTI, 3 February 1944; data on population of the towns are taken from Janis, loc. cit.

Sofia and the other six large cities are not so much industrial as administrative centers. The evacuation of factories together with their personnel would have presented a much more difficult task, and could hardly have been achieved so thoroughly and quickly.

The flood of evacuees was directed to the countryside. The Minister of the Interior ordered that all mineral and other spas and tourist huts be placed at the disposal of the evacuees.¹

On 28 January the Bukarester Tageblatt reported that small groups of Sofia refugees who had arrived in Ruse on the Bulgarian-Rumanian frontier were "leaving the Bulgarian shore to reach the Rumanian frontier village of Giurgiu; for many a refugee, Rumania will be a second Fatherland for the time being."

III. DOBRUDJA

A. Exchange of Population between Bulgaria and Rumania

(Craiova Agreement of 7 September 1940)

"For thirty years the Dobrudja has played an important part in the disturbance of Europe -- its influence has been vaster than many thinking people realize."²

For four hundred years this territory, situated between the Danube and the Black Sea, was part of the Bulgar Empire; then, after a short period of independence, it was conquered by the Turks, and remained Turkish for five hundred years.

1. Transkontinent Press, 4 February 1944.

2. Newman Bernard, The New Europe, New York, 1943, p. 270.

The Berlin Peace Congress of 1878, after the Russian-Turkish war, allotted the northern part of Dobrudja 5,948 square miles (15,536 sq. km.) to Rumania as a compensation for Southern Bessarabia 2,997 square miles (7,726 sq. km.) ceded to Russia. In this area the Rumanians formed only a minority of the population. They began energetically to colonize their new province. At the time, this was easily accomplished without injury to the Bulgar majority, as thousands of Turks who had in large numbers settled in Dobrudja under Ottoman domination, left the country after its incorporation into Rumania. Southern Dobrudja was turned over to Bulgaria.

The Bucharest Treaty of 1913 which concluded the war between Bulgaria and the three other Balkan states, ceded Southern Dobrudja to Rumania.

During the first World War, in 1918, Dobrudja was handed over to Bulgaria by the Central Powers. After the German collapse, the Treaty of Neuilly gave Dobrudja back to Rumania.

In 1940, after the Russian annexation of Bessarabia and Northern Bukovina, Bulgaria presented her claim for Dobrudja.

Rumania tried to obtain Axis' protection, but was advised to agree to a settlement with Bulgaria. The British Government took a similar attitude. Rumania was forced to negotiate. On 7 September 1940, in Craiova, a Bulgarian-Rumanian treaty was concluded.¹ It provided for the cession

1. The full text of the treaty and of the subsequent agreement on the exchange of population was published in: Monatshefte fuer Auswaertige Politik, November 1940, pp. 802-804.

of South Dobrudja (an area of 2,982 square miles with a population of 378,344) to Bulgaria and for a compulsory exchange of populations. The Bulgarians of the Northern Dobrudja districts of Tulcea and Constanza were to be transferred to Bulgaria and the Rumanians of the Southern Dobrudja districts of Duroster and Caliacra were to be sent to Rumania. The transfer was to be effectuated within three months. Bulgaria undertook to pay Rumania a blanket sum of 450,000,000 leva as compensation for improvements made in Southern Dobrudja by the Rumanians and in settlement of all other claims.

The exchange of populations began on 7 November 1940. Rumanians living in the districts of Duroster and Caliacra in Southern Dobrudja which had been ceded to Bulgaria were to be evacuated by 14 December 1940. However, many Rumanians of this area did not wait for the conclusion of the treaty, but left at the first word of the impending frontier revision.¹ The official evacuation did not start until 7 November, but as early as the beginning of September, the editor of the Vienna Suedost-Echo, Dr. L. Oberascher, saw numerous Rumanian refugee camps, with carts, horses, herds of cattle, flocks of sheep, fodder stocks, and furniture loads, on the bank of the Danube between Turtukai and Silistria. Many of these early emigrants were peasants who had been settled in Southern Dobrudja after 1913 by the Rumanian Government, in order to Rumanize the newly acquired province, and to strengthen the new frontier against Bulgaria. Among them were also some

1. Oberascher, Dr. L. "Umsiedlung und Dissimilation."
Wirtschaftsdienst, 3 January 1941.

• 23,000 Macedonian Vlachs, who had been expelled from Greek Macedonia in 1922.¹ Others had been brought from Moldavia and Walachia; over 5,000 Rumanian families had been colonized by 1932.²

Intense hatred of the Rumanian newcomers had accumulated during the twenty-seven years of Rumanian rule. Thus, many of the Rumanians did not deem it advisable to wait for the day when the Bulgars resumed control.

Official Rumanian statistics gave 282,844 as the number of Rumanians in the ceded districts of Caliacra and Duroster. This figure later proved to be tremendously exaggerated. The number of Rumanians who actually left Southern Dobrudja in the course of the Bulgaro-Rumanian population exchange, did not exceed 100,000 (21,897 families).³ On the other hand the Rumanian Government, just as the Bulgarian Government, which had tried to admit a minimum number of Bulgarians, was by no means eager to accept all the Rumanians from Southern Dobrudja. According to a report of the Suedost Economist, the Rumanian Government refused to receive six thousand Rumanians from the Tutracan district. After long and futile negotiations, the Bulgarian authorities on 11 December forcibly removed this group from their homes and sent them across the Danube to Rumania. The Rumanian authorities immediately sent them back to the Bulgarian bank of the river.⁴

1. Manuila, Dr. Sabin. Ethnographical Survey of the Population of Rumania, Bucharest, 1938, p. XXX.
2. La Situation des Minorités Bulgares, Sofia 1932.
3. Trei Ani de Guvernare, p. 149.
4. Suedost-Economist, 28 February 1941.

Considering the Dobrudja problem as definitely solved, the Rumanian Government has made every effort to settle the 100,000 repatriates from Southern Dobrudja permanently on Rumanian territory as quickly as possible.¹ Some 70,000 evacuees, that is the great majority, have been colonized in Northern Dobrudja; taking into account the apparently permanent character of the Rumanian-Bulgarian agreement on the partition of the Dobrudja, they may be considered as settled for good. The resettlement of those Dobrudja Rumanians who were installed in the reconquered provinces of Bessarabia and Bukovina (as far as the northern part of the latter province is concerned), seems to be very much less stable. These re-settlers will face further displacement now that these provinces have been recovered by Soviet Russia. About twenty thousand of the repatriates from Dobrudja have not as yet been assigned to permanent homes.

According to the Craiova Agreement, all the Bulgarians residing in the Northern Dobrudja districts of Tulcea (Julica) and Constanza were to be transferred to Bulgaria by 14 December 1940. The Bulgarian Government, like the Rumanian Government, wanted as few rather than as many as possible. The German Suedost-Economist (Budapest) of 28 February 1941, which voiced the official Bulgarian point of view, complained that while at Craiova the Rumanian authorities had spoken of 55,000 Bulgarians to be evacuated from Northern Dobrudja, they later presented a list of 74,451 persons subject to evacuation.²

1. For details about the resettlement of Rumanians, see R & A 1654, "The Population Displacement of Rumania" pp. 44-45.
2. Prof. R. Romansky (Ia Dobrudja, Sofia 1918, p. 186), estimated the number of Bulgarians in Northern Dobrudja at 70,000.

The Bulgarian authorities objected, claiming that among this number were many Greeks, Russians, and members of other ethnic groups, who were not entitled to resettlement in Bulgarian Southern Dobrudja. After a careful recount, it was ascertained that there were 66,800 Bulgarians in Rumanian Dobrudja. This figure still considerably exceeded the one mentioned by the Rumanian Government at Craiova, and the Bulgarian Government at first refused to admit more than the original number. Finally it agreed to receive 60,000; as to the remaining 6,800 who were admittedly Bulgarians, it proposed the conclusion of a new agreement. The Rumanian Government refused and, as stated by the Suedost Economist, "the Bulgarian Government had to leave these 6,800 in Northern Dobrudja."

A vehement conflict also arose with regard to the 60,000 Bulgarians whom the Bulgarian Government had agreed to admit. The Bulgarian authorities asserted that by 14 December 1940, 60,500 Bulgarians had crossed the frontier, while the Rumanians claimed that their number was only 57,500. The Rumanian authorities resolved this conflict by forcibly ousting the Bulgarian population of two villages. The villagers were placed in waiting trains and were taken over the frontier. The Bulgarian Government finally decided to admit these three thousand additional evacuees.¹

According to an official Rumanian report covering three years of the Antonescu Government (1940-1943), about
1. Suedost-Economist, 28 February 1941.

14,000 families comprising some 61,000 persons left Northern Dobrudja between 15 October and 14 December 1940.¹ The German NPD placed the number of Bulgarians evacuated during 1940 and 1941 at 66,500.² The evacuated peasants came in carts from 265 villages; a part of them was shipped from Constanza. They took with them 18,500 horses, 3,500 swine, 215,000 sheep, 12,500 horned cattle and 12,000 small cattle.³

Dissensions which had far reaching consequences, arose between the Bulgarian and Rumanian Governments with regard to the property left behind by the Bulgarian evacuees in Northern Dobrudja. The Treaty of Craiova provided (Articles IV, V, VI) that persons leaving their actual residence under the terms of the Treaty be allowed to export their movable property, cattle, agricultural implements, and so on, free of duty. Real estate left behind became the property of the State. The value of property and belongings was to be appraised by a mixed Rumanian-Bulgarian Commission on the basis of an inventory presented by the prospective evacuees (Article 10). Mutual claims thus accumulated were to be settled between Rumania and Bulgaria through compensation from State to State. Each State undertook to compensate its repatriates for agricultural property left behind (Article V). Property left behind in the towns remained the private property of its actual proprietor (Article IV). In practice these provisions led to numerous and violent conflicts. The Rumanian Government

1. Trei Ani de Guvernare, 6 Septembrie 1940 - 6 Septembrie 1943, Bucharest, 1943, p. 149
2. NPD, 8 August 1943.
3. Zeitschrift fuer Geopolitik, March 1941.

stated in Craiova, that the Bulgarians owned some 269,000 acres and 9,800 houses in Northern Dobrudja.

In the autumn of 1943 an official Rumanian report placed the number of households which had been relinquished by the repatriated Dobrudja Bulgarians at 11,794 comprising 280,674 acres of arable land.¹ The Sofia Government asserted that, on verification, the Bulgarian property in Northern Dobrudja amounted to 321,234 acres worth 1,692 million lei and 13,500 houses, worth 644 million lei. The Bulgarian Government had undertaken to compensate the repatriates for the property they left behind, but this meant a much heavier financial burden, than had been assumed at Craiova, and the arrangements it had made to pay 450,000 million leva to Rumania (in two installments, 15 January 1941 and 15 January 1942) proved to be inadequate. Furthermore, conflicts arose with regard to the settlement of mutual private and administrative financial claims and obligations, as well as to the rate of exchange of leva and lei.² An official Bulgarian announcement also alleged that Rumanian frontier guards had confiscated the movable possessions of the repatriates and their money, as well as official documents issued by the Rumanian authorities concerning the real estate they had left behind and the requisitions made by Rumania. The Sofia Government lodged an official protest in Bucharest demanding that measures be taken for the re-establishment of law and order by the Rumanian

1. Trei Ani de Guvernare, p. 149

2. "Ein Nachspiel zur Dobrudja Angelegenheit." Suedost Economist, 28 February 1941.

frontier officials.¹ As late as November 1943 negotiations were still under way between the Bulgarian and Rumanian Delegations concerning the liquidation of mutual property interests in Northern and Southern Dobrudja.²

The resettlement of the 66,000 repatriated Bulgarians can be considered as completed. On 4 May 1944, Transcontinent Press reported from Sofia that 14,500 settler families from Northern Dobrudja had been allotted 314,558 acres of land in Southern Dobrudja. However, the territory relinquished by the 100,000 evacuated Rumanians considerably exceeded 127,000 hectares, and the Government was thus able to allot 157,155 additional acres to 22,000 more landless Bulgarian families.³

B. Failure of the Attempt to Extend the Craiova Agreement to the Entire Territories of Bulgaria and Rumania

The Dobrudja case was apparently considered as settled by both interested countries. On 7 September 1942, the joint Rumanian-Bulgarian Commission, which had been set up for the supervision of the fulfilment of the Treaty of Craiova and

1. The New York Times, 10 November 1940.

2. Deutsches Nachrichten Buero, 15 November 1943.

3. This settlement of an old and painful territorial and ethnic quarrel between Bulgaria and Rumania can be considered as final. The armistice concluded with Rumania on 13 September by the Allied Powers, which won the return of Northern Transylvania to Rumanian sovereignty, did not mention Southern Dobrudja. Neither was Dobrudja mentioned in the armistice with Bulgaria signed on 28 October.

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which met periodically in Sofia, was dissolved.¹ However, other nationality differences between the two states remained unsettled. The numerous Rumanian colonies scattered throughout Bulgaria, and particularly in the Timok Valley and south of the Danube, near Vidin, still presented a problem. According to the latest Bulgarian figures, the Rumanian minority numbers 75,065; Rumanian statistics claim about 130,000.² To this number must be added the Rumanian minority of Greek and Serb Macedonia, annexed by Bulgaria in 1941. There were constant complaints about the bad treatment of Bulgarians in Rumania and vice-versa.

In an effort to settle these disputes, Rumania and Bulgaria signed an agreement on 1 April 1943, extending the Craiova principle of exchange of population to the entire territories of the two contracting parties. This time, in accordance with article 1 of the Craiova Treaty, the exchange was not to be compulsory, but was to be carried out on a voluntary basis. The right of repatriation was conferred on all Rumanian citizens of Bulgarian descent residing in Rumania, and on all Bulgarian citizens of Rumanian descent living in Bulgaria. Persons wishing to avail themselves of this right were to report to the authorities before 31 May 1943.³ The Rumanians repatriated from Bulgaria were to be settled in Transnistria and the Bulgarian repatriates from Rumania were destined for resettlement in Thrace.⁴

1. Donauzeitung (Belgrade) 9 December 1942.
2. Free Europe, 12 July 1940.
3. Transocean dispatch of 29 April 1943.
4. Grenzboten, 21 October 1942.

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But almost simultaneously with the publication of this agreement, events took an unexpected turn. On 21 April the Rumanian Minister of Propaganda, Professor Marcu, in an interview with a correspondent of the Sofia Utro, declared that all political questions between Bulgaria and Rumania had been solved and "all obstacles darkening relations between the two countries had been removed." On 3 May Radio Rumania announced an extension of the deadline for emigration for all citizens of Bulgarian descent. And on 23 May the official Deutsches Nachrichten Buero reported from Bucharest in a dispatch for Europe:

"The Mixed Bulgarian-Rumanian Commission for the Exchange of Nationals has announced that the Governments of the two countries have abandoned the idea of voluntary resettlement of their respective nationals; applications will no longer be received."¹

A Transocean dispatch of 25 May carried the following official explanation for the radical change in the repatriation policy of both countries.

"According to well-informed circles in Bucharest, the suspension is due to the fact that neighborly relations between Rumania and Bulgaria have become very cordial during the past few months and differences which might arise in connection with resettlement questions should therefore be avoided."

This explanation hardly rings true: since "neighborly relations" between Bulgaria and Rumania had become "cordial

1. Bukarester Tageblatt, 23 May 1943. Timpul, 27 May 1943.

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During the past few months," they must have been cordial on 1 April (some eight weeks before the DNB announcement) when the repatriation agreement was concluded. No new revolutionary developments in Bulgarian-Rumanian relations took place between 1 April and 21 April, the date of Professor Marcari's statement.

The clue lies in the mention of "differences which might arise in connection with resettlement questions" and which "should therefore be avoided." The dispatch would indicate rather that such differences had arisen and that they were of so serious a nature that it had been found necessary to drop the entire repatriation plan. It is likely that Hungarian pressure on Bulgaria may have been a prominent factor in the sudden abandonment of the exchange project. It has been reported that, early in May, the Hungarian Minister in Bucharest had called the attention of the Bulgarian government to the fact that an agreement on exchange of population with Rumania would create difficulties for Hungary, which is opposed to an exchange of population in Transylvania as a means of settling the territorial problems concerning this much disputed province. The new Bulgaro-Rumanian exchange agreement would render the continuance of a negative policy more difficult for the Hungarian government which made it clear that it would consider the carrying out of the agreement as an unfriendly act.

After the abandonment of this large-scale repatriation scheme, only minor exchanges of population occurred. Bulgaria

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continued her efforts to repatriate Bulgarians from the Rumanian province of Banat. According to a statement of Alexander Stanoylovitch, Secretary General of the Yugoslav Chamber of Commerce, their number totaled 10,005.¹ The efforts of the Bulgarian Government, however, were concentrated on the repatriation of the 7,466 Bulgarians living in seven villages near the Caras river, in the southern part of the Rumanian Banat.² The first group of 155 Bulgarians left for Eastern Bulgaria as early as September 1943. They were to be settled in the village of Berdarski Geren, on land which had formerly belonged to German settlers who returned to the Reich.³ The second group of 96 Bulgarians from the Banat arrived on 19 October. Northern Bulgaria was designated as the area where they were to be settled.⁴ A special committee was sent over from Sofia to organize the repatriation.⁵ On 9 October 1943, another group of repatriates, mainly artisans from Bucharest, also arrived in Bulgaria.⁶ On the other hand, only small groups of Rumanians have been repatriated from Bulgaria. On 1 October 1943, DNB announced that 200 Rumanians, most of them artisans and farmers, would return to their homeland from an unidentified part of Bulgaria.

1. Danubian Review, April 1940, p. 37.
2. Koelnische Zeitung, 30 December 1943.
3. Transocean Broadcast, 1 October 1943.
4. Bukarester Tageblatt, 10 October 1943; Utro, 20 October 1943.
5. Koelnische Zeitung, 30 December 1943.
6. Zora, 7 November 1943.

IV. ANNEXED GREEK AND YUGOSLAV TERRITORIES

A. Deportation of Greeks, Serbs and Jews

Under the terms of the Convention of Neuilly which provided for a voluntary exchange of population between Bulgaria and Greece, 92,000 Bulgarians left Greek territory. Of this number some 39,000 left Western Thrace and Macedonia prior to the coming into effect of the Convention (1923) and 53,000 left afterwards, leaving 51,926 Bulgarians in Greece. The majority of those who remained were concentrated in the northern part of western and central Macedonia, far from the Greco-Bulgarian border. In 1932, Stephen P. Ladas, in his book on the exchange of minorities, stated that there were no Bulgarians left in Western Thrace.¹ In 1941 when German troops entered Greece, even Axis sources admitted that Western Thrace and Macedonia "remained virtually without Bulgarian inhabitants."² For Bulgaria, the recovery of these lost areas was not only a political problem, but also a matter of economic necessity, in view of the acute agrarian overpopulation of the Old Kingdom (see p.23). In order to allot the peasants 12.3 acres of land, which is considered the necessary minimum for a farm, about 247 million acres of new land would have been necessary. The Bulgarian Parliament had

1. Ladas, Stephen P., The Exchange of Minorities - Bulgaria, Greece, and Turkey.

2. Donauezeitung, Belgrade, 25 November, 1942.

voted a law providing for the utilization of 1,359,000 acres of woodland, for making arable 370,000 acres of waste land, as well as the preparation of 494,000 acres for vineyards, orchards etc.¹ All these projects of internal development based on the premises of a territorial status quo were upset by the Bulgarian territorial acquisitions of 1941.

In April 1941, Bulgarian troops occupied large sections of south Serbia, including most of Yugoslav Macedonia. These areas were incorporated under Bulgarian rule as three distinct newly created administrative units, Skoplje Oblast, Bitolia Oblast, and Moravski Raion. They comprise an area of 9,960 square miles.²

Another increase in territory quickly succeeded this one. On 21 April 1941, before the final capitulation of the Greek Army, Bulgarian troops were assigned by Germany to occupy the greater part of Thrace and Macedonia, and the Bulgarian Prime Minister cabled to Hitler his "deepest thanks for the liberation of Macedonia and Thrace by the German Army."³ The area occupied and later incorporated by the Bulgarians extended from the Strymon (Striema) River on the west up to a line just east of Alexandroupolis (Dedeagac); it comprised most of the Greek department (nome) of Serres, the departments of Drama, Kavalla,

1. Internationale Agrarrundschau, March 1941.

2. Seacoast Economist, 6 June 1941

3. C.M.C. Bulgaria and the War. The Bulletin of International News. Vol. XX, No. 23, 13 November 1943, p. 991.

and Rhodope, and the western portion of the department of Evros, a total area of 6,440 square miles.¹ This territory was named the "Aegean provinces" by the Bulgarian Government. Its western part was called Bielomorie ("White Sea"). Its new masters described this district as "rich and fruitful, whose climate allows a triple harvest in the year and whose natural blessing makes it of value to the prosperity of Bulgaria and Europe."²

The population policy of the Bulgarian Government with regard to the annexed Yugoslav and Greek territories was far from uniform.

According to the Suedost-Economist, which often voiced the viewpoint of the Bulgarian Government, the ethnic composition of Bulgarian-annexed Yugoslav Macedonia did not change to any great extent during the period when this area belonged to Yugoslavia; 80 percent of the population were still considered by the Bulgarian government as of Bulgarian ethnic origin.³

1. Xidis, Stephen G. The Economy and Finances of Greece Under Axis Occupation in 1941-42. Pittsburgh, 1943, p. 10.

2. Donauzeitung, 29 May 1943.

3. W. Winkler (Statistisches Jahrbuch der europäischen Nationalitäten, Wien - Leipzig 1931, p. 217) estimated that in 1924, Bulgarians constituted 70.9 percent of the population in Serbian Macedonia. Many thousands of books, pamphlets, and articles are devoted to the problem of the ethnic allegiance of Macedonia's population, and numerous wars and bloody conflicts have accompanied the quarrels among Bulgarians, Greeks, and Serbs on this crucial question.

Therefore, only those Yugoslav citizens who had settled there after 1 December 1918, were to return to their native homes. A later Cabinet decree gave former Yugoslav citizens in the annexed territory the choice of accepting Bulgarian citizenship or leaving the country by November 1943. An official Yugoslav source asserts however that notwithstanding the alleged Bulgarian character of this part of Macedonia, 120,000 Serbs were forcibly evicted under these decrees.¹ It was claimed in June 1941, that not a Serb remained in the town of Veles, and that out of 25,000 Serbs in Skoplje only 1,000 to 2,000 were still there by February 1942.² Some 10,000 Macedonian Jews were deported to German-occupied Poland.³

The situation in annexed Greek Eastern Macedonia and Western Thrace was quite different. Here the first step of the Bulgarian authorities was the mass eviction and deportation of the Greek population. After the formal annexation -- as opposed to the occupation -- of Western Thrace, in October 1941, about 6,000 Greeks were deported into Bulgaria.⁴

Early in 1942 came more reports of young Greeks being deported to Bulgaria. Large numbers of refugees fled to other parts of Greece; it has been estimated that they totalled

1. Atrocities and Transfer in Occupied Yugoslavia. Royal Yugoslav Information Center, 1943.
2. The Situation in Yugoslavia. The Bulletin of International News, Vol. XX, No. 25, 11 December 1943, p. 1077.
3. Hitler's Ten-Year War on the Jews, Institute of Jewish Affairs, New York 1943, p. 110.
4. Xidis, Stephen G. The Economy and Finances of Greece under Axis Occupation in 1941-1942. Pittsburgh 1943.

26,000 from the cities and 42,000 peasants.¹

On 10 June 1942, the Bulgarian occupation authorities announced that inhabitants of Greek or Serb origin living in these provinces were to opt for Bulgarian nationality before 1 April 1943; those not wishing to do so were to leave the country and liquidate all their property. Later, the period of option was extended to 1 November 1943.² A large number of Greeks refused to become Bulgarian citizens and obtained permission to leave the annexed provinces for German-occupied Salonica. They left all their property behind. There has also been a steady trickle of unauthorized migration into the German-occupied Evros district which is under a Greek governor.³

Another means of exercising pressure was discrimination in the rationing of food. The Ankara correspondent of the London Times revealed in October 1942 that food cards were given only to those inhabitants of Eastern Macedonia and Western Thrace who could either prove their Bulgarian nationality in writing, or were willing to sign a declaration that they were Bulgarians.⁴ The bread ration allotted

1. Greece and the War, loc. cit. p. 36.

2. Donauzeitung, 11 June 1942 and 21 March 1943.

3. "Memoranda on Axis-Controlled Europe" No. 50. Review of the Foreign Press. Series A. 20 July 1943.

4. News from Greece, 20 November 1942.

to Greeks who had succeeded in obtaining their food cards was 150 gr. per day as against 300 gr. for the Bulgarians.¹

On 21 June 1942, Paster Lloyd reported that 71,000 Greeks had already left the Bulgarian-occupied Greek provinces. On 27 November, the Neue Zuercher Zeitung spoke of 80,000 Greeks who had been expelled. On 4 January 1943, an article in the London Daily Herald stated that 100,000 Greeks had been evicted from Greek Macedonia and Western Thrace.

The following figures on Greek refugees from the Bulgarian-annexed area were reported in May 1943:²

Salonica	- 60,000	Kilkis	- 10,000	Kozani	- 2,000
Nigrita	- 20,000	Chalkidice	3,000	Florina	- 1,000
Pella	- 8,000	Evros	- 6,000		

Many important towns of the Bulgarian-annexed area were depopulated. According to a comprehensive document released by the press department of the Greek Legation in Kuibyshev, three-quarters of the 40,000 inhabitants of Xanthi had fled and two-thirds of the population of Alexandroupolis (12,000 in 1928) had abandoned their homes. In Sidirokastro only 1,000 remained.³

Before annexation, Eastern Macedonia and Western Thrace, had a population of 688,480 according to the Greek Statistical

1. "Greece and the War." The Bulletin of International News. Published by the Royal Institute of International Affairs. Vol. XXI, No. 4, 14 February 1944, p. 136.
2. Review of the Foreign Press. 20 July 1943.
3. The New York Times, 6 January 1942.

Yearbook. In 1942 the Bulgarian statistical service placed the number of inhabitants of these annexed provinces at 590,000. Thus, the net loss admitted by the Bulgarians themselves at that time already amounted to 91,520.¹ In February 1944 Turkish sources reported that of the total Greek population of 700,000 in Bulgarian-occupied Greece, only 375,000 remained.² According to the official statistics of the Social Welfare Department in Salonica, 275,000 to 300,000 Greeks have so far fled from Bulgarian-occupied territory to Athens and elsewhere in Greece, notably to Salonica (where they have been allotted the houses of 60,000 Jews who were deported by the Germans to Poland). Some 25,000 other Greeks have fled to Evros province. In addition, some 25,000 Greeks have been deported to Bulgaria according to a record kept by the Greek police authorities at Salonica and Didimothikhon.³

The deportation of the 2,974 Jews of Western Thrace and the 10,000 Jews of Eastern Macedonia was carried out simultaneously with that of the Greeks. The first train of Jewish deportees left Thrace for Poland in March 1943.⁴ Additional trains followed, and by the end of May, all the Jews from Thrace and Macedonia had been deported to Poland where they were delivered to the German authorities.⁵ In order to escape deportation,

1. Xydias, Stephen G. l.c., pp. 10-11.

2. The Bulletin of International News, Vol. XXI, No. 5, 4 March 1944, p. 201.

3. CID 80496, July 1944.

4. Donaueitung, 24 March 1943.

5. Social Demokraten, 25 May 1943.

Jews from these former Greek provinces attempted to flee to Italian-held Albania, Turkey, and other parts of Greece. In January 1943, the Bulgarian police discovered an "underground railway" at the Aegean port of Cavalla whence Jews were illegally transported to Greece proper.¹ In May a secret organization was uncovered in the Macedonian town of Scoplje, with headquarters in Sofia. This organization had been delivering identification cards and passports which would enable Jews to cross the Turkish and the Bulgarian-Albanian border. Deportations were accompanied by wholesale seizure and confiscation of Greek and Jewish property. Jewish property was confiscated outright. With regard to Greek property, indirect methods of confiscation such as compulsory liquidation of property, the refusal to allow deportees to take cash along, etc., were applied.²

The Greek Office of Research and Information stated that dispossessed Greeks were paid only 35 percent of the value of their seized lands and homes.³ Greek-owned industrial and commercial establishments were also confiscated and the proprietors and workers exiled.

1. Voelkischer Beobachter, 1 February 1943.
2. Greece Ground Down. London Times, 28 May 1942.
3. News from Greece, 17 April 1942.

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In May 1944, the Neues Wiener Tageblatt reported from Sofia that in order to speed the solution of the land problem in Bulgaria, "a more rapid system of resettling and ejecting foreign elements has been introduced."¹

1. Neues Wiener Tageblatt, 5 May 1944.

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B. Colonization of Bulgarians

In Yugoslav Macedonia, Bulgarization affected mainly the administrative machinery. Bulgarian officials who had served there before 1918 were reinstated and many posts were given to local Macedonian Bulgarians.¹

In the annexed Greek territories the Bulgarian population policy took a different turn.

In January 1942 the German-controlled Radio Paris announced that Greece and Bulgaria were carrying out a population exchange.² What was actually taking place in the occupied Greek territories, however, was the eviction of the Greek element and its replacement by Bulgarian settlers. Only part of these settlers were the same Bulgarians who had left in 1923-1932. In June 1943, Premier Filov was able to inform the press that "the greater part of the 150,000 Bulgarians in Thrace, who had evacuated their country at the end of the war of 1914-1918 have returned to their original home."³ However, 150,000 is an arbitrary figure and greatly surpasses the number of

1. Suedost-Economist, 20 September 1941.

2. News from Greece, 31 January 1941.

3. DNB, 26 June 1943; the Suedost-Economist (6 June 1941) spoke even of 300,000 evacuated Bulgarians, and the Wirtschaftsdienst (22 May 1942) gave the extravagant figure of 500,000.

Bulgarians who left Thrace after 1919 as given by the Greco-Bulgarian Mixed Commission in charge of this emigration. There is no doubt, that under the slogan of "repatriation" thousands of Bulgarians who had no ties with Thrace were moved into this area. As early as 23 November 1941, the Bulgarian newspaper Zora reported that the Ministry of Interior was issuing application forms to be filled out and returned by 15 December 1941 by all persons desiring to settle in the new provinces. Originally it was announced that "the first refugees to return to their former homes will be refugees of the last war; then farmers from the densely population districts of Bulgaria will move."¹ But this sequence was never observed. As a matter of fact, no difference whatsoever was made between the two categories. The Belgrade Donauzeitung of 29 May 1943, frankly stated that "whoever can prove that he has blameless national sentiments and can give a military guarantee, whoever has a large family and is at the same time a good farmer, has the best prospects of being quickly admitted." According to a decision of the Bulgarian Minister of the Interior, only bachelors and married persons without

1. Stockholms Tidningen, 27 February 1942.

families, as well as persons unfit for agricultural work were not to be sent to the Aegean districts.¹ Applicants were obliged to leave "old" Bulgaria within a period of fifteen days, after the lists had been drawn up and the permits had been received.²

Those who registered for resettlement were allowed to sell their property in "old" Bulgaria or cover it by mortgages, but only under the control of the Ministry of the Interior and with its permission. The state had the right to buy up the real estate of the resettlers at the private purchasing price. This sum was then credited to the account of the new farm which the resettler received in the resettlement area. Official Bulgarian circles asserted that the taking over by the state of the "dwarf holdings" -- typical of Bulgaria -- which had been left vacant through resettlement, also served to eliminate small unprofitable farms. Only healthy holdings, capable of growth, were retained. The arable land acquired by the state from the resettlers was divided up among the small peasants who remained, thereby increasing their livelihood.³

1. Zora, 7 November 1942.

2. Donauzeitung, 12 September 1942.

3. Donauzeitung, 12 July 1942 and 29 May 1943.

The resettlement started, by way of an experiment, early in 1942. At the end of February, 30,000 Bulgarians were said to have already been settled in the newly acquired territory.¹ Actual resettlement, however, was very soon interrupted until autumn of the same year. This pause was utilized for the surveying and classification of land and for the rebuilding of houses destroyed during the war. According to the Krakauer Zeitung of 7 November 1942, the Bulgarian colonization authorities intended to erect the first 10,000 houses before the beginning of winter and to resettle the first 50,000 Bulgarian peasants by the end of 1942. Other Axis sources were much more optimistic in their reports on the progress of the Bulgarian colonization. As early as June 1942, Pester Lloyd stated that 50,000 Bulgarians had already "returned" to Thrace and Macedonia and that over 100,000 families had registered for resettlement.² In November of the same year, the German Donauzeitung of Belgrade reported that during the first 19 months of Bulgarian occupation 100,000 Bulgarians were resettled in Thrace, mainly in the area between the Struma and the Mesba Rivers.³ According to Dr. Dontschev, the Head

1. Stockholm Tidningen, 27 February 1942.

2. Pester Lloyd, 21 June 1942.

3. Donauzeitung, 25 November 1942.

of the Office for Questions of Population at the Bulgarian Ministry of the Interior, only 122,000 Bulgarians had been settled in the Aegean provinces by the end of May 1943.¹ In March 1944, the Bulgarian Minister of Public Works, Vasilev, declared at Varna that "now all Bulgarian refugees from that region [Macedonia and Thrace] have returned to their native soil"... "the national characteristic of that territory has returned to what it was before it fell under the [Greek] yoke."²

The colonization of this area by peasants from "old" Bulgaria, who had never before in any way been connected with it continued during 1943, although at a considerably slower pace. Scattered information which appeared during the first months of 1943 indicates that only small groups of Bulgarians had been brought to the newly acquired areas. The Neues Wiener Tageblatt of 23 March 1943, announced that 300 Bulgarian families had been settled in Western Thrace during the first three weeks in March. Simultaneously an Istanbul cable to the London Daily Telegraph reported that only 800 more Bulgarian families had recently been installed

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1. Donauezeitung, 29 May 1943.
 2. Sofia Radio, 5 March 1944.

in the Greek towns of Cavalla, Tsagetsi, and Alexandroupolis.¹ This is despite the fact that the number of applications for resettlement reached 300,000.²

The size of the acreage allotted to the settlers varied in accordance with the character of the soil. Wheat farms were allotted 9.3 to 12.3 acres; plots adapted to the cultivation of tobacco and other industrial plants, only 5 to 7.4 acres. In addition, each family received a dwelling house similar to those to which they had been accustomed in Bulgaria, as well as a garden of one-fourth to three-eighth of an acre. The settlers had to pay off only 65 percent of the value of the land they had received in annual payments over a period of 15 years beginning with 1944. For the first two years they were exempt from all taxes and other deductions. They were also granted additional credit by the Bulgarian land and cooperative bank. Single families were able to obtain credit up to 50,000 levas (2610) at 4 percent interest, repayable within eight years. The settlers were forbidden to sell or to farm out the acquired farms. The penalty was confiscation

1. News from Greece, 18 April 1943.

2. Donauzeitung, 29 May 1943.

by the state.¹ During the past two years 150,731 acres of land have been distributed in former Greek and partly in Yugoslav Macedonia, among 20,400 Bulgarian families.²

According to the Bulgarian Prime Minister Filov, those Bulgarians who "returned to their homeland...had settled again as peasants on their old holdings, some had been allotted new land or taken over the farms of Greeks who had left." The Bulgarian Cabinet decided that in places where the new settlers "cannot obtain the livestock and goods which they require through voluntary sale on the part of the occupant living there, the authorities can, if necessary, enforce the sale."³

Not all of the 122,000 Bulgarians sent to the Aegean provinces were peasants. According to Premier Filov, many settled in the towns, as officials, merchants, teachers, physicians and craftsmen.⁴

Bulgarian officialdom is disproportionately large and absorbs a high percentage of the country's growing younger generation, for whom opportunities in business

1. Krakauer Zeitung, 3 November 1942; Donauzeitung, 12 September 1942; The Survey of Central and Eastern Europe, February 1943.

2. Transcontinent Press, 4 May 1944.

3. DNB, 23 June 1943; Donauzeitung, 12 September 1942.

4. DNB, 26 June 1943.

are few, in view of the lack of industrialization of the country. The number of officials in Bulgaria is estimated at 130,000 and including their families they number 650,000. They are as a rule underpaid. The Government was neither in a position to increase their salaries nor to discharge a large number of them. It therefore found a way out, by sending officials from Bulgaria proper to the occupied Greek territories. The officials who remained behind were given a 10 percent increase to compensate for any additional work.¹ However, many of those who had been transferred, especially teachers, were dissatisfied with their new surroundings and were anxious to return home. The Bulgarian newspaper Zora of 20 March 1943, published an order of the Ministry of Trade and Industry which announced that by 15 May, district school authorities must have prepared lists of all teachers who were to be transferred from the "liberated" lands back to their permanent posts. These lists were also to include requests of teachers who had arrived during the current term and although they were not entitled to do so, desired to return home because of illness or other reasons. The teachers were

1. Suedost-Economist, 18 July 1941 and 31 July 1942.

expressly forbidden to address their requests directly to the Ministry of Trade and Industry. This would indicate that the anxiety to get their applications in was so great that rather than apply through the regular channels many had directly approached the Ministry. In May 1944, the Ministry of Education announced that 20 percent of all elementary school teachers and 10 percent of all primary school teachers in each district of the Kingdom (with the exception of those in the Dobrudja and the Rhodope region) would be compulsorily sent to the new territories.

In order to bolster the morale of those already settled, Bulgarian officials were constantly forced to visit Western Thrace, and other sections under their control, to hold patriotic speeches and stage parades. It was, however, reported that few Bulgarian peasants considered their new residences as permanent.¹ On 13 June 1942, News from Greece heard through a Constantinople source that the majority of the Bulgarian immigrants were returning to Bulgaria. This was due in part to the threat of an Allied invasion from the Aegean.²

1. Cable received by the Greek Government in Exile, News from Greece, 1 May 1942.

2. Ibid, 28 June 1942.

Although this information is greatly exaggerated, it does contain certain elements of truth.

The remaining Greek population fiercely resisted the intruders. After close to three years of occupation, the Bulgarian administration had not succeeded in penetrating to all the regions of the occupied territory, and Greek guerrilla bands ~~were~~ conducting a permanent and frequently successful struggle against the Bulgarian settlers. Even Bulgarian sources have admitted this situation. Zora of 3 June 1943, published a picture representing an armed peasant holding a Bulgarian flag with the following note:

"Sound Bulgarians live in the southernmost district of the Bulgarian Kingdom; in the Kastoria district where there are no Bulgarian authorities, the population defends its homes with arms from the Greek Antar..... rebels. Bulgarians in Kastoria are repelling attacks on the front along the Belitsa and Bistritsa Rivers."

According to Utro of 3 August 1943, the Bulgarian villages of Nostrum, Staricheni, Drenichevo, Gurche, Chuka, Zgelegore, Breshani, Stensko, Radikoze, and Slimnitsa, were burned to the ground by Greek partisan detachments, and other villages such as Krupiste, Embore, Corenitis, and Chetiro also suffered damage. The number

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of Bulgarian refugees from these endangered areas is increasing, and Utro stated that the neighboring German-occupied and therefore safe Salonica "is swarming with hundreds of sons of the Nidze and Vardar regions and those of Voden, Lerin, and Kastoria."

C. The Transfer of Germans

On 22 January 1943, an agreement was reached between the German and Bulgarian governments concerning the transfer to Germany of some 800 persons of German descent living in Bulgarian-annexed Greek Macedonia and Western Thrace. Those who possessed Bulgarian citizenship were deprived of it. The agreement was submitted to the Sobranie on 3 February 1943.¹ On 22 February a Royal decree was published in the Official Gazette, which stated that on crossing the Bulgarian frontier, repatriates lost their Bulgarian citizenship and were thus released from all obligations towards the Bulgarian State, including military service. The emigrants were allowed to take with them all their personal mobile property, including money, bonds, foodstuffs, seeds, goods and cattle. The

1. Transocean, 3 February 1943.

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validity of their claims to immobile property was decided by a mixed Bulgaro-German Commission.¹ On 22 July 1943, the Sobranye issued a decree giving to the Bulgarian Agricultural Cooperative Bank exclusive rights to buy the property of emigrating farmers of German descent. Until this property was sold or distributed among Bulgarian peasants, it was to be administered by the Ministry of Agriculture.² As early as 13 April 1943, Transocean reported that "the resettlement of German nationals from Bulgaria in the Reich is almost completed ... the last group of these people is now on its way to Germany."

1. Transocean, 20 February 1943.

2. Dnes, 23 July 1943.